

THE
ANTIQUITY
OF THE
Protestant Religion,
CONCERNING

IMAGES,
WITH AN

ANSWER

TO THE
COLLECTIONS

Made by the Author of the Pamphlet

ENTITLED
NUBES TESTIUM.

In a Letter to a Person of Quality.

By *Edw. Pelling.*
The Second Part

LONDON,
Printed for Ben. Griffin, and are to be sold by Randal Tay-
lor, near Stationers-Hall. 1687.

THE
ANTIQUITY

OF THE
SACRED

CONCERNING

IMPRIMATUR.

ANSWER

Gul. Needham R. in

Christo P. ac D. D.

Wilhelmo Archiep.

Cant. à Sacr. Domest.

Ex Edib. Lamb.

Mart. 31. 1687.

Made by the Author of the last price

ENTITLED

NUMBER 2 TESTIM.

IN A LETTER TO A PERSON OF QUALITY

The Second Part

LONDON

Printed by W. B. G. and are to be sold by W. B. G. at the Sign of the Star in St. Dunstons Church-yard 1687.

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THE
ANTIQUITY
OF THE
PROTESTANT RELIGION
CONCERNING
IMAGES.

S I R,
TO be just to my Promise, I shall
now satisfy you as to the Point
about the Use and Worship of
Images, by giving you such Historical
Observations as will fully shew the No-
velty of those practices which we blame
the Church of *Rome* for.

Concerning this Point there were of
of Old, Two great *Controversies*. The last
whereof was between Christians them-
selves: It began about the time of Gre-
gory the Great, and succeeded that Ter-
rible Feud about the *Primacy*, wherein
Gregory himself was a fierce Adversary, as
B I shew'd

I shew'd you in that faithful Account I gave you in my former Letter concerning that Bullness.

But the *First* great Controversie about Images was for several Ages before, managed very hotly between Christians and Heathens. Now when you shall rightly understand and consider the nature of these *Two* Controversies, you will presently be convinc'd, that the Old Catholick Christians were utterly set against all Image Worship, and that the bringing of it into the Church was a plain and abominable *Innovation*.

For the clearing of this therefore I shall, 1. Begin with the consideration of the *First* Controversie between the Christians and Heathens, and shew you, by undeniable evidence from matter of fact, that the Primitive Church did neither *Worship*, nor so much as *Use* any Images. 2. Then I shall go on to the *Second* Controversie, and shew you, how the Use of Images was *introduced*, how it was *Opposed* by Publick Authority, and how zealously the Catholick Fathers did for above two hundred years together *abhor* the

the abomination; when some men proceeded from *Using* to the *Worshipping* of Images. And then in the third place I shall consider the allegations produced by the Author of the *Nubes Testium*, that would beguile you into an evil practice; by pretending it was a Catholick practice in the *Primitive Ages*.

1. To begin with the *First Controversie* between the Christians and *Heathens* about Images. This Controversie commenced when Christianity began to spread among the *Gentiles*, and lasted to the times of *Julian* the Apostate, to be sure; that is, for above three hundred years together. Now in this Controversie, Three things are very observable. 1. That the Heathens *Objected* this against the Christians as one of their *Crimes*, that they would have *nothing to do with Images*. *Athenagoras* in his Apology, which he wrote about the year 170. takes notice of this Accusation, and shews the unreasonableness of it, *Because there is such a vast distance between God and Matter, whether it be Stone, or Wood, or Gold and Silver*. In like manner *Origen* tells us, how *Celsus*

Origen. contra
Cels. pag. 373.
lib. 7.

the *Pagan* objected this, among other things, against the *Christians*, that they would not endure the sight of any Images, and that they contemn'd and reproacht Images. For which reason *Celsus* compared the *Christians* with the *Scythians* and other *Barbarous* and *Irreligious* people, that used neither Images, nor Altars, nor Temples. I shall cite no more Authorities out of *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, and others to this purpose, because the thing is so very notorious. Now had the *Primitive Christians* used or allowed of any Images, what Ground could there have been for this charge? and how easily might the *Christians* have answered, that indeed they had no Images of *Heathen Deities*, but yet they had the Pictures of *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, and other persons that were of their Religion? This would have been rare sport for their Adversaries; a most pleasant Theme, especially for such witty men as *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, and *Julian*, to have exposed the *Christians* as the most *Senseless* and *Ridiculous* people in the World. But I challenge any man to shew out of any Writings, whether

ther Heathen or Ecclesiastical, that ever any of the Primitive Christians used such a kind of Plea. Nay, it is very observable, Secondly, that they own'd the Accusation, and stood upon their Defence, by shewing the great Reasons and Necessity they had to have nothing to do with any Images. So Clemens Alexandrinus acknowledg'd in the name of his fellow Christians, that with them there was no sensible Image made of any sensible matter: no, they had only one Idea, that was the Object of their minds and understandings, namely the true God alone. And in answer to Celsus his Objection, Origen said, that tho' other People despised Images, as well as Jews and Christians, yet it was upon different Grounds and Reasons. We Christians (saith he,) have nothing to do with them, because of Gods Law, Thou shalt not make to thyself any Graven Image, &c. and again, thou shalt Worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve: And many other commands there be, which keep us from using Altars, or Images; So that we will rather Die, then contaminate our selves with them. Can any thing be plainer than these Testimonies, that

Clem. Alexand.
Admonit. ad
Gentes pag. 34.

Orig. ubi supra
pag. 375.

that Images were not used in the Church in those days? The same thing is own'd by several other ancient Writers in their Apologies for the Christian Religion: They all *justified* the Church for refraining from the use of Images.

3. Nay, one thing more is observable out of that Controversie; that the Christians did not only justify themselves for *their not* using Images, but they condemned the Heathens *for* using them, altho' they did not look upon them as *Deities*, but adored their Deities *by* them, and Worshipt the Images themselves onely for their Relation-sake to those Deities, and that *by* them they might direct their Worship to the Deities themselves. This I intreat you to observe (and 'tis very well worth your observation) that whatever notions some of the sottish *Vulgar* might have of Images, yet the more intelligent sort among the Heathens did not reckon them to be *Gods*. Some (of the *Pagans*) affirm, saith *Athenagoras*, that Images are but Images, and that those Beings are the Gods, to whom those Images are Dedicated. So the Heathens in *Arnobius* plead-
ed

*Athenag. legat.
pro Christianis
p. 17. Arnob.
adv. Gentes lib.
6. p. 198.*

ed, That no part of Mankind was so foolishly blind, as to reckon things of Silver, Brass, Gold, &c. in the Number of the Gods, or to believe that such things had in themselves any Divinity. No, said they, you Christians are mistaken if you think so of us: For we do not believe that figures made of Brass, or of any other matter, are in themselves Gods, or venerable Deities. Therefore said Celsus, if the Christians despise Images for this reason, because Stone, or Wood, or Brass, or Gold, formed by such or such a one, is a God, this is Ridiculous wisdom; for who but an errant fool believes these things to be Gods, and not Images dedicated to the Gods? No, said Julian the Apostate, we do not take Images to be Gods, but only Symbols of the presence of the Gods. Maximus Tyrius in his 38th. Discourse, treats purposely of this matter, and shews that Images are quite Different things from the Divine Nature; things Dedicated only to the Divine Nature: And the reason of it, he saith, was this; because Mankind were conscious to themselves of their great distance from the Divine Nature, as much as Earth is distant from Heaven

Origen. contra
Cels. lib. 7. p.
373.

Julian. p. 337.

Heaven; therefore they thought it proper for them, to erect *Images* and *Representations*, that should bear the *Name* and *Honour* of the Gods:

2. You will ask perhaps, why then did the *Heathens* *Worship* them? Why, this is the *Second* thing I would intreat you to note carefully; that they did not *Terminate* their *Worship* in the *Images*, but *Worshipt* their *Deities* *by* them, and directed their *Worship* *through* them, honouring the *Images* themselves for their *Dedication* and *Relation-sake* to those *Deities*. I think nothing can be clearer to you than this, if you consult the *Authors* and places which I have now cited. The *Heathens* affirm, saith *Athenagoras*, that *their Prayers, Services, and Sacrifices* are offered unto the Gods, and are made and belong unto the Gods, to whom the *Images* are *Dedicated*. We do not think *Images* to be Gods, but through them we *Worship* the *Deity*; because we being in the *body*, ought to perform our *Worship* agreeably. So the *Heathens* in *Arnobius* said; *Deos per Simulachra veneramur*; we *Worship* the Gods by those *Images* and
 Repe-

Representations: *Per tramites quosdam, & per quædam fidei commissa sumunt, atque accipiunt cultiones*; the Gods, say they, receive our Services by these *Oblique ways*; not *directly*, as if they were tendred to them *immediately*, and in a *strait line* (Heavenward) but somewhat about as it were, by and through those Images, which were Symbols of the Deities, as the *Scholast* interprets that passage in *Arnobius* out of *Hotoman*. To which I shall add, out of *St. Austin*, what the Heathen said in excuse of his Worshipping an Image: *I do not Worship this visible thing, but the Deity which invisibly dwells in it. And again, by a bodily Representation I behold the Symbol of that which I ought to Worship.* In like manner the Heathens said in *Lactantius*, that they did not Worship, or reverence the Images, but the Gods, whose Representations they were, and to whose Names they are Consecrated. And in the next Chapter *Lactantius* sharply reprehends *Cicero*, for being guilty himself of Image Worship, when he knew and confest the *Vanity* of it. For *Cicero* tells us, that *Superstition was one thing*

Non hoc visibilis colo, sed numen quod illic invisibiliter habitat. ...per effigiem corporalem ejus rei signum intruor, quam colere debeo. S. August. in Psal. 113. concione 2.

Non ipsa (scilicet mulachra) timemus, sed eos, ad quorum imagines fita, & quorum nominibus consecrata sunt. Lactant. de Orig. Error. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Cic. de nat. deor. lib. 1.

which brought in the Worshipping of Images, that people might believe they Worshipped the gods themselves, when they ador'd their Images.

Here then you may easily see the true nature of that Controversie between the Primitive Christians, and those Heathens who understood their Religion better than some others did. It was not about a false *Opinion*, as if they believed the Images to be *Deities* (for this they utterly denied) but about their manner of *Service*, because they gave Religious Worship to Images, believing that such Worship did pass to the thing whereof the Image was a *Symbol*, and in which their Worship did ultimately *Terminate*. So that the Intelligent Heathen is *misrepresented*, when he is described as one that worshipt *Stocks and Stones as Gods*. The Heathen truly represented is one, that thought it a *senseless and Ridiculous thing to adore Images for Deities*; but yet thought it fit for him to look upon them, to keep in his mind the Memory of the things represented by them; to love, honour, and respect the Images themselves, for the sake of those they represented; nay, to venerate, and Worship them too; but yet supposing

ing all this while, that such Veneration, whether by Kneeling, Praying, lifting up the Eyes, offering Sacrifice, &c. was not at all done for the Image, but did wholly pass to the things represented which he intended to honour by these actions, because the honour that was exhibited to the Image, he believed was referred to the Prototype which was represented by it.

I pray now observe. In the management of this Controversie, the Fathers of the Christian Church supposed, that the Learned Heathens spake their very thoughts, and were willing to believe the best of them. But yet the Dispute was very *Hot* : for still they taxed the soberest Heathens with all imaginable Severity ; they proved the Unlawfulness of their Practices, though their Opinions were not that Images were Deities, nor were worshipped for themselves : They confuted them by such Arguments as would have held strong against them, though the Opinion of them *all*, as to that Point had been *sound*, and though all of them had worshipt the *True God himself*, by, and through an Image : And by the invincible force of those Arguments they justifi-

Lib. 7. p. 374

fied themselves for not doing so. Thus
 faith Origen against Celsus; *Christians and
 Jews cannot endure to worship the Divine Be-
 ing after that manner: Though the Scythians
 and Persians do not do it no more than we; yet
 we cannot endure to do it for different Rea-
 sons. Why? What were the Christians
 Reasons? Because (saith he) this is to
 lower, to debase, to pull down the Worship of
 God, when 'tis bestowed after this manner
 upon any such matter (as an Image,) and
 because this way of Worship is utterly against
 the Law, Thou shalt not make to thy self an
 Image, &c. it is for these reasons, that we
 had rather die, than defile our Faith by such
 impieties. And elsewhere he saith, *The I-
 mages that are fit for God, are not such as are
 formed by the hands of an Artificer, but those
 that are wrought in us by the Word of God;
 viz those vertues whereby we imitate him
 who is his first born, the great Exemplar of
 Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, Wisdom, Piety
 and other Vertues. This argument
 would have held against the Heathens, had
 they worshipt no other than the True
 God by a material Image. In like man-
 ner Clemens Alexandrinus argued, that the
 looking**

Lib. 8. p. 389

looking upon the visible Objects, doth undervalue the Majesty of God; and that to worship by matter that Being, which is the Object of our minds, is to dishonour that Being, and to render it contemptible, by employing the Sense about it. For brevity sake I omit divers other Arguments of the like Nature, used by Arnobius, Lactantius, and others because these alone do abundantly shew the Sense of the Ancient Church, that the use of Images in the Worship of God is unlawful, tho' such Images be not lookt upon as Gods, nor Worshipped as Such.

*Stromat. l. 4:
p. 559. Ed. Par.*

Now I beseech you, Sir, reason with your self impartially upon the consideration of this whole Controversie. Is it imaginable, that men who wrote and disputed after this manner, and upon these Principles, against the corrupt Practices of the Heathens, is it imaginable, I say, that they could be possibly guilty of the *Same* thing themselves? Is it imaginable, that they who condemn'd the Heathens for using Images in their Temples, could do the same thing in their Churches, where the doors were open, and Heathens themselves had the liberty for their Instruction to enter in daily? Is it is imaginable

nable, that they could lay themselves thus open to their Adversaries, or give them such a foul advantage, as was not possible to be avoided? No; this must necessarily have rendered them the most Stupid and Ridiculous men that ever were in the World. This must have made all those Arguments they used against others, to be retorted upon themselves: This must have ruin'd not *their* reputation only, but the credit of their whole *Cause* too, and would have stifled the great interest of Christianity. I ask you, would it not be the greatest prejudice to our cause now, should we use Images in *our* Churches; as the Romanists do in *theirs*? What Nuts would this be for them? And what upbraidings and boastings should we have presently? They who have told us of *Moses* and *Aaron*, which are in some of our Churches but for *Ornament* sake, would take no more notice of those two poor Pictures, then they do of the *Second Commandment*, did we but *bow down* before a *Crucifix*. They would flee at us with a witness, and might tell us to our faces, that we were the most silly and impudent men under Heaven, for upbraiding them with that, which we did

did our selves. And would it not have been the same case, with the *Primitive Fathers*, if they had practis'd that which they condemn'd the *Heathens* for? For tho' they had not any representation of *God*, as the *Heathens* had the Image of *Jupiter*, yet if they had had but one Image of any one Saint, how merry straight would their Adversaries have been upon them? And might they not justly have said, why may not we have the Image of *Mercury*, as well as you the Image of *Paul*? Why may not we be as respectful to our *Minerva*, as you are to your Lady *Mary*? VVhat are your Saints to you, more than our Deities are to us? And if it be nothing but the changing of the Object represented by the Image, that's a trifling matter; and you may call us great Fools if you please; but you cannot prove us to be greater Fools than you your selves are, upon your own principles.

This, Sir, is sufficient to satisfy you, that there could be no such thing as the use of Images in the *Primitive Ages*, especially during that great Controversie between the *Primitive Christians*, and the *Pagans* about that matter. But yet to strengthen this assertion

fertion, I would desire you further to note these following things.

1. That in all those Disputations between the *Jews* and Christians, we do not find that those bitter Adversaries to Christianity did ever lay the use of Images to the Christians charge in the Primitive times. Had any such thing been, the *Jews* of all men would not have failed to have cast it in the Christians Teeth, not upon a *general* account only, because they were Enemies to Christianity, as the Pagans were; but for a more *particular* reason, because they abhor'd the very *Sight* of an Image, especially in places of Divine *Worship*; and it would have been a more plausible argument, than any they ever used against the Christians, that their Religion was pretended to be an *Improvement* and *Perfection* of the Law, and yet the Professors of it lived in the open and scandalous breach of the Second Commandment. Could such an Objection as this, ever have escaped a malicious *Jew*?

2. If you consult *Lampridius* in the Life of *Alexander Severus*, you will find that *Adrian* the Emperour about 120. years after Christ order'd Temples to be built without
Images

Images: Whereupon it was presently suspected, that he *favoured* Christianity, and was building Temples for *Christ*. This clearly argues, that it was notorious every where, that Christians used no Images in their Oratories; for there could be no reason for men to be so *jealous* of *Adrians* intentions, but that people knew, that Christians were Haters of Images, and that they were a *Singular* sort of men in that respect.

3. For ought we can yet find to the contrary, the very *Art* of *making* Images was judg'd and condemn'd by Christians for the first 200 years, as an *Unlawful Art*. I am sure Two very great men, who lived within that time, plainly tells us so, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (who was about *anno* 190) censures the *Art* it self, as the *Cause* of Idolatry; because it hath a *strong Tendency* to deceive people; so that they are drawn by it, not only to Love the thing represented, but also to Worship and adore the very Images and Pictures. And a little after he declares, as the Common and received opinion of Christians then, that they were plainly forbidden to use that deceitful Art: And the reason of it he presently subjoins, because it was said in the Law, *Thou shalt not make the similitude*

*Clem. Alexand.
Admon. ad Gen-
tes.*

Tertullian de
Idolatr.

litude of any thing, whether in Heaven, or Earth. And Tertullian, who flourish'd at the same time, employ'd a great deal of his sharp Satyrical Wit upon this very Subject; saying, that *the Devil brought into the World the Makers of Statues and Images*: and shewing, that the Artificer is guilty of Idolatry, as well as the Worshipper; and so he goes on to answer the arguments and pretences which were commonly us'd by men of that Trade. And that you may not think he spake only of making *Heathen Idols*, he interprets the word *Idol*, and saith, 'Tis any little Form or Representation; therefore that every Form or Representation is to be called an Idol; and that Idolatry is any sort of Service or Ministration about any sort of Idol; and so, that every Artificer, or Maker of an Image is an Idolater, because God has forbidden a Similitude not only to be Worshipp'd, but to be made. And at last he tells us, that such Artificers ought not to be admitted into the House of God. V Which is agreeable to an old constitution commonly ascribed to the Apostles, that an Idol maker (that is, in Tertullian's sense, an Image maker,) should be denied the Communion of the Church, unless he forsake his Art. Now can any man be

Constitut. Apost.
lib. 8. c. 32.

be so senseless, as to believe after all this, that Christians in those times *used*, or *had* any Images *themselves*?

These things are so clear, and of such irresistible force, that the Learned and moderate *Cassander* ingeniously *confest*, as a thing certain, that *for sometime after the first preaching of the Gospel, there was no use of Images among Christians, especially in Churches.*

Cassander Consult. de imag. & simul.

A modest man by far than Cardinal *Bellarmino*, who with so much confidence tells the World such an horrible *falsehood*, that *they were customary in the Church for the first 500-years.*

Bellarmino de cultu Imag. cap. 9.

Whereas indeed (as a truly Learned Doctor of our own speaks upon certain grounds) 'Might 'things be carried by a fair and impartial trial 'of Antiquity, the dispute would soon be at 'an end; there not being any one just and 'good Authority to prove that Images were 'either Worshipped or used in Churches for 'near upon 400. years after Christ: And I 'doubt not (saith he) but it may be carried 'farther.

Dr. Cave Primitive. Christ. par. 1. cap. 6.

2. Having gone thus far on my way, to shew you the Novelty of this practice from the *First Controversie* between Christianity and Heathens about this matter, I shall now

proceed to an Historical account of the *Second Controversie*, as it was managed between Christians themselves, which tho' it brake out about the time of *Gregory the Great* and grew very Hot about 700. years after our Saviour, yet the *Foundation* of it was laid much sooner. For it is not to be denied, but that formerly *here* and *there* some particular Christians had some Pictures *privately* in their Houses, in memory of some great Person or Action. But then you must note these Three things. 1. That it was for a long tract of time before any Pictures were introduced into *Churches*. 2. That it was a longer time before Christians made not *Pictures* only, but *Statues* too. 3. That it was for several hundred years, before any Images, whether Statues or Pictures, were used publickly, but only for *Ornament* or *History*-sake, as it will plainly appear in the sequel.

But that which I now intreat you chiefly to observe is, that the first making of Pictures among Christians proceeded partly from the Example of some *Hereticks* (as I shall shew hereafter) but principally from the fond *inclinations* of those, who being converted from *Heathenism* to Christianity, retained still an old
relish

relish and love of those Superstitious practices, to which they had been accustomed so long ; but yet were discouraged and reprehended by publick Authority: Which will be enough to shew the Innovation, however it gained ground by steps and degrees.

That it proceeded from an *Heathen* custom is most evident from that noted place in *Eusebius* ; where speaking of an Image at *Cæsarea Philippi*, which was conceiv'd by the people of that place, to be the Image of that woman who had been cured of her bloody issue by our Saviour, and who lived in that City; *Eusebius* saith, that he himself saw that Image. See now what follows: *It is no wonder, saith he, that the Old Gentiles, who had receiv'd benefits by our Saviour, have done such things: For we have known of some Pictures of his Apostles, Paul and Peter, and of Christ himself, that have been painted and preserved on Tablets; they of old (who had been converted to Christianity) being accustomed to Honour them as the means of their Salvation after this manner among themselves; but then he adds* *ἰδιωτικῶς*, by a Gentile, or Heathen Custome, and *παραφροσύνης*, which the Learned * *Valesius* himself expounds, *Inconsiderately, imprudently, unadvi-*

*Hist. Eccles.
l. 7. c. 18.)*

* *Inconsideratè
imprudenter, con-
tra veterem des-
ciplinam, in cau-
tè. Vales. Annos.
in locum.*

unadvisedly, contrary to the ancient discipline (of the Church.)

Placuit, Picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur, & adoratur, in parietibus depingatur. Concil. Eliberitan. Can. 36.

But lest this practice should prove of very Evil and Scandalous *Consequence*, a Council at *Eliberis* in *Spain*, Anno 305. provided an exprefs Canon, that *Pictures* ought not to be in a Church, lest that which is *Worshipt* and *Adored* should be painted upon *Walls*.

There hath not been such a general want of ingenuity among the Doctors of the Roman Church, but that some of them have own'd the Authority of this Canon, But if you view the common Annotations upon it, you will find how miserably perplext they are how to evade the force of this Decree, which stares so in their faces. Some of them say, that *Pictures* were forbidden, but not *Carved Images*, for fear of *Idolatry*; as if there were not as much danger in one respect as in the other? or as if it were not as much *Idolatry* to *Worship* a piece of *Wood* or *Marble* as it is to *Worship Paint and Colours*. Some say the Spanish Fathers were against *Pictures* upon *Walls*, because they could not be removed in times of *Persecution*, as *Statues* might; but must have been left to the contumelious usage of *Jews* and *Pagans*: As if those

those Catholick Bishops were for *Saving* of things, which they would not by any means *Have*. Some say, *Pictures* were forbidden, lest by the sheldring and falling of some of the *Plaist* they should be *Defaced*, and their venerable *Handsomness* should be lost: As if they cared for the *Beauty* that abhorr'd the *Use* of them. But others generally say, that the *times* are *alter'd*, and that there is not now such danger of Heathen-Idolatry, as there was then; and therefore the Reason of the Decree failing, it is not amiss that the custome of the Church hath quite abolisht it. Very good! as if *Christian* Idolatry were allowable, or as if the sottish *Pagans* might not Worship the work of mens hands, but the Professors of *Christs* Religion may. Do not these men make excellent reasons, for these Wise and Holy Fathers, that were so zealous to keep people at a great *Distance* from *All* Idolatry and Superstition? And might they not say as much for the abolishing of the Second *Commandment*, especially if it be written on a *Church-wall*? However God be thanked, the thing is yielded us, that such a Decree was made at *Eliberis*; and that is enough for *My* purpose, which is

to

to shew, that Pictures were not used in Churches in those days, but were utterly rejected by the Publick Authority of the Church.

But notwithstanding this Canon, Pictures came in after-times to be set up in *some* Oratories here and there: Partly by means of that Superstitious *Affection* which some ignorant men had for them; and partly perhaps with some *Hopes* that the Heathens would thereby be the sooner prevailed with to love Christianity. Yet you may easily discern what the Wise and Honest Governours of the Church thought of it, by that single story of *Epiphanius*, the Famous Bishop of *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, when he tore a Picture down in a certain Oratory in *Palestine*. And thus it was, as the matter is related by *Epiphanius* himself in that Letter of his which he wrote to *John* then Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in whose Diocese the thing was done. The Letter it self was translated into Latin by no less a man than *St. Jerome*, and is extant in *St. Jeromes* works, and at last is own'd to be Genuine by some of the Jesuites themselves. This great man *Epiphanius*, travelling towards *Bethel*, and coming to a Village called

led *Anablatha*, finding there a *Christian Oratory*, he went into it to offer up his Prayers. As soon as he slept in, he saw by the Door a Painted Veil, or Hanging, whereon there was an Image, whether of *Christ*, or of some Saint, he could not well remember. When he saw this Image hanging in the Church, contrary (saith he) to the Authority of the Scriptures, he cut, or rent it, advising the Guardians of the Church, to wrap up the body of some poor man, and Bury him in it. They, being dissatisfied with the Action, told him, that 'twas but fair for him, since he had rent that Hanging to give them another? which accordingly he did; and withal sent to *John of Jerusalem*, to desire the Presbyters of that Church to accept of the Hanging, and to command them that for the future no such Hangings with Images upon them should be suffer'd in the Church as being (as he said) against the Christian Religion. This *Epiphanius* flourisht about 370. years after Christ; and this Relation shews what course entertainment Images found in the Church in that Age.

It is not to be denied, but that in after-ages the use of Images grew common, every succeeding Generation striving still to Add

something to the Innovation, as 'tis usual with Superstitious Spirits. But yet it is certain, that for the first 600 years at least, people were not by any means allowed to *Worship* Images. For Gregory the Great, who was Bishop of *Rome* in that Age, fully and clearly declared his judgment against it, upon the complaint which had been made against *Serenus* Bishop of *Marseilles*; and this was the Case. Some people that lived at *Marseilles* were so addicted to Heathen customes; that they began to give *Worship* to Images. This so stirred the Zeal of their Bishop *Serenus*, that he demolisht the Images, and brake them in pieces. The Story was told at *Rome*, and Pope Gregory wrote to *Serenus* about the business commending indeed the great care he took to keep men from sinning, and from *Worshipping* that which was made with hands, but telling him too, that Pictures might be permitted in Churches for the Instruction of the Unlearned. We altogether Praise you (saith he) for prohibiting people to *Worship* the Images of Saints; but we reprehend you for breaking them. It is one thing to *Worship* a Picture, and another thing to learn by the Story of a Picture what is to be *Worshipped*. For what
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Vide Gregor.
ad Seren. Re-
gist. lib. 7.

the Scripture is to such as Read, that a Picture is to such Idiots as do only see; for by that the Ignorant discern what they are to follow, in that they read who know not their Letters; That therefore ought not to be broken, which is set up not to be Worshipped in Churches, but only to instruct the minds of the Ignorant.—Shew the Sons of the Church by the Testimonies of the Holy Scripture, that it is not lawful to Worship any thing made with hands, because it is written, thou shalt Worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. But withal you are to add, that Pictures are of use to unskilful people. The sum is briefly; if any man will make Images, you are not to forbid it; adorare vero imagines omnibus modis devita, but by all means avoid the adoration of Images.

I think nothing can be a plainer evidence than this, that all Image Worship was in those times judged to be *sinful*, by the Governours of the Church, and by the Pope himself, who must be supposed to have given his deliberate judgment upon this quarrel: And one would have thought, this should have stilled that evil practice in the very beginning; especially if men had at that time entertain'd that Conceit of the Popes *Infal-*

libility and Supremacy. But indeed, this and the other little Quarrels about this matter of Images, did, after this Gregory's days, break out into a great and scandalous controversie, so that there were I know not how many bloody Noses about it, in the Papacy of Gregory the Second, (and after,) who was as zealous for Image Worship, as his Name-fake, the First of that Name, had been *against* it, about an hundred years before. You shall now have a faithful account of this flaming controversie; and by it you will easily perceive, what a palpable *Innovation* Image Worship was; how it grew greater and greater, and withal, how zealously it was opposed by the *truly* Catholick Christians.

When from reading stories in paint, people proceeded to Worship the Picture it self, so that Image Worship began to spread in many parts of the Christian World, the *Jews* and *Saracens*, were most horribly scandaliz'd at it, and reproach'd Christianity upon that account? so that now the *Jews* openly accus'd Christians for Violating the Second Commandement, which they never did in the *Primitive* Ages, when yet they would most readily have used the same Objection, if there had been the

the same occasion given in those times. But now their mouths were open, and the World was filled with their complaints ; because this was the main stumbling block which hindred many from coming into the Church though they were well satisfied of the truth of the common Doctrines of Christianity. So in that disputation between a Jew and a Christian, which was exhibited in that packt Assembly, commonly called the Second Nicene Council, the Jew acknowledged *that he believed the Christians Doctrines, and that Christ* Conc. Nic. 2. Act 5. *was the Son of the Living God ; but (said he) I am scandalized at this, that you Christians Worship Images, contrary to the exprefs Words of the Law.*

This awakened many of the Great Clergy, the leading and Principal Bishops (as is acknowledged) with divers others, who thinking it impossible to remove the scandal without wholly taking away the occasion, perswaded the Emperour *Leo Isaurus* to cast all Images out of Churches by an Imperial Edict. I know some Writers of the Roman Church have endeavour'd to bespatter the memory of those zealous Prelates, such as *Constantine* the Bishop of *Nacolia*, *John* of *Nicomedia*;

Ep. Tarasii ad Imperat.

media, and the rest: But this is an Artifice (and a very usual Artifice with them in such cases) only to bring an undeserved Odium upon their Actions. Moreover, to blast the Emperours Honour too, they tell us an idle Story of a Jew, a *Fortune-teller*, that moved *Leo* to this business, while he was yet a mean young man; of which I shall give you an account anon. Besides, they relate the matter so, as if the Emperours proceedings were most *Tumultuary*, *Rash* and *Barbarous*: And all this to throw a *Reproach* and *Infamy* upon his just and necessary undertakings. Whereas indeed the business was began by *Churchmen*, who saw the Necessity of a *Reformation*, and was conducted by *Mature* advice, and the most deliberate Counsels, as you will see by the Story, which I shall search into the more exactly, because it is a thing not commonly known or observed, and the Author of the *Nubes Testium*, hath wholly omitted all the most material parts of it.

If we may believe Pope *Gregory* the Second, it was full *Ten* years after *Leo* came to be Emperour, before he either medled or spake any thing about this matter. For it is observable, that in the First unmannerly Letter

Letter, which that Insolent Pope sent him concerning it, he saith, *For Ten years you have by the Grace of God walked aright, and have not made any mention of Holy Images.* The Emperour being now told by some, that Image-Worship was Scandalous Idolatry, was careful to consult the General Opinion of the *Clergy*, not omitting *Germanus* of *Constantinople*, and a few more, tho' they were singular in their judgments, and stood stiffly for those corruptions, which the rest complained of. And as far as I can find by Pope Gregory's Letter to him, he blamed the Emperour, not for taking no advice at all, but for not resting in the opinion of those whose judgments he would have had him followed; meaning *Germanus* and his small party, who were on the Popes Side. It is evident from the Popes own Words, that *Leo* desired this Controversie might be ended after a fair Synodical manner: For the Pope confesses that *Leo* wrote to him about a General Council to determine the Controversie; which the Pope refused to hearken to, under pretence indeed that a General Council would be to no purpose (not to His purpose perhaps, though it might have served

Gregor. 2. Ep.
ad Leo. Isaur.

ved the purposes of Christianity.) But the *True* reason of his disobedience seems to be this, the Pope had now revolted from his Allegiance to *Leo*, denying him all Tribute from *Italy*, and withdrawing the *Italians* from *their* obedience to the Emperour also; and having now the Power and assistance of the *Franks*, with whom he had entred into a *Confederacy* against his own *Sovereign*, he thought he might safely *buff* and *resist* the Emperour, who had now so much work to do at *home*.

All Images being now taken down by the Emperours Edict, it pleased the Greek Clergy, but highly exasperated the Bishop of *Rome*, and some of the Superstitious rabble at *Constantinople*, so that (as *Cedrenus* himself doth acknowledge) they would have fallen upon *Leo himself*, and did actually kill many of his *Servants*, and such as executed his commands; which is the *True* cause why divers of them suffered: It was not for their *Opinion*, or *Love of Images*, but for their *Seditious uproars* and *Treason*.

However the Emperour laboured for some time under many difficulties, chiefly by means of the Popes Rebellion against him,

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for doing that which he was advised to do
 by the best and most deliberate Counsels.
 And therefore that he might take an ef-
 fectual course to put an end to all, he sum-
 moned a publick Synod to Constantinople;
 which neither Cedrenus, nor Zonaras, nor
 many other Patrons of Image Worship,
 thought fit to take any notice of, the better
 to discredit the proceedings in this case. But
 Paulus Diaconus though a party concerned,
 hath left us this plain and short account of
 the matter; that in the 13th. year of Leo I-
 saurus his Empire he called a Council, being
 himself there in a Throne of nineteen Cubits
 high; that he called Germanus too, the Patri-
 arch of Constantinople, hoping that upon the
 whole debate he would subscribe to the defini-
 tion against Images, as the rest did: But he
 would not yet comply, under a pretence that he
 could not subscribe, unless the thing were deter-
 mined in a General Council: So he left his
 Bishoprick, and the Synod ordained and pro-
 moted Anastasius in his room. I shall only
 add, that Petrus Picherellus, a Papist, hath
 ingenuously confessed in his discourse at St. Ger-
 mans before the Queen Mother anno 1562:
 that in Leo's time a Council was held at Con-
 stanti-

Pauli Diacon.
 Histor. lib. 21.

Constantinople against all use of Images in Churches; and that this Council consisted of 330. Bishops, who decreed they should be removed and burnt. Whether this was the Council *I* now speak of, or another before it, is indifferent to me: Let others judge. But this is enough to shew the Regularity of that Emperours proceedings, and is so clear an evidence of the Innovation of Image-Worship, that it was one of the arguments which the ingenuous *Picherellus* used against this corruption, in that publick discourse which *I* have now mention'd.

I do conjecture, that *Germanus* his refusing to subscribe without the Authority of a General Council, was the great reason that moved the Emperour to write to Pope *Gregory* about it (as *I* noted before.) But this Letter had no other effect, but that it occasioned an answer, wherein the Pope justified the Worshipping of Images, because they did not Worship them as Gods (the very answer which had been given by the Pagans, in defence of their Idolatry) and then he fell foul upon the Emperour, comparing him with *Ozias* when he brake the Brazen Serpent in pieces: Wherein that pretended

Head

Head of the Church was guilty of a *Double* error. First he mistook the *Name*, *Ozias* for *Hezekiah*; and to excuse it there is this Note upon the *Margin* of the Popes Letter; *Hic videtur error ex lapsu memoriae*, the poor mans memory fail'd him; the *fault* was in his Head (a rare *Security* for the Truth of *Tradition* against *Scripture*.) Secondly that he *blamed Hezekiah* for that which the *Scripture* *applaudes* as a most commendable Act. The zealous *Emperour* had no reason to be ashamed of all this; but the *World* hath good reason to laugh, that such pretty answers should come from the Pope, that *wise piece* of *Infallibility*.

Leo dying, his Son succeeded him, *Constantine Caballinus*, otherwise called *Copronymus*; who being anathematiz'd by the Bishop of *Rome* (as his Father had been) for opposing *Image-Worship*, took the same course his Father did, and summoned another great Council of 338 Bishops, who met at *Constantinople* too, in the year 754. near 30 years after the former. They unanimously decreed against *Images* also; and that, not out of *compliance* with the *Emperours* inclinations (as the Author of the *Nubes Testi-*

Vide Conc.
Nicen. 2. art. 6.
Cedren. Zo-
nar. Theopha-
nem, & alios.

um doth insinuate] but upon long and mature consideration, and arguments drawn from *Scripture, Reason, and the practice of the Primitive Church*, as any man may see, that will but impartially consider the *Acts* of that Council. And all debates being over, they conclude, *That all Images, of what matter soever, made by the wicked Art of Painters, should be cast out of Christian Churches, as strange and abominable things. That no man should for the future observe that wicked and impure institution; but that whosoever should dare either to provide an Image, or adore it, or place it in a Church, or in a private House, or have one by him; if a Bishop or a Deacon, he should be deposed; but if a Monk or Laick, he should be Excommunicated, and suffer according to the Imperial Edicts, as an Enemy to the Divine Laws.*

Indeed about 30 years after this, *anno 787.* the Acts of this great Synod were rescinded at the *Second Nicene Council*, which was called by the *Widow-Empress Irene*, that bigotted and cruel Woman, that afterward barbarously pull'd out the eyes of her own Son the young Emperour. Not that I think her furious *Bigotry* was the only cause of her
restoring

restoring Images. No, no, she had a *further* game to play, for *Charles* the Great (Son and Successor to King *Pipin* of *France*) was a very Potent Prince in the West, and the Woman had a Moneths mind to creep in- to his Embraces. To bring this about she sent to *Charles* the Great, offering her Son in marriage with *His* Daughter, hoping this might tempt *Charles* himself to make court to *Her* too, as it afterwards proved. For the accomplishing of her longing desires, the Pope was to be pleased by all means, tho' she went through thick and thin to please him. Therefore being instigated by Pope *Adrian* the first in all haste she call'd a Council to *Constantinople*; but the *Constantinopolitans* being so violently set against Images that she despair'd of success if the Council should sit *there*, she removed her journey men to *Nice*; where to gratifie the Furious and outrageous *Empress*, they agreed to set up Images again, not only as helps for the *Memory*, but as *Objects* of *Adoration*, because the Honour done to the Image passeth on to the *Prototype*: as they declared in the 7th. Action of that Council. Now of this Council I would observe to you three things.

I. That

I. That they were a pack of Greeks, that were neither the *Wiseſt*, nor the *Honeſteſt* men in the VWorld. * As to their *Knowledge*, you may ſoon diſcern of what ſize it was, by their pretty way of arguing from Scripture in defence of Image VVorſhip. The Fathers at *Frankford* ſhew'd how ſenſeleſs and ridiculous their proofs were, as you may obſerve with pleaſure by conſulting the *Caroline Books*. But leſt you ſhould not have thoſe Books by you, I will give you out of them a little *Specimen* of ſome Texts of Scripture from which they concluded Image-worſhip to be Lawful. Gen. 1. 27. *God created man in his own Image, ergo Images are to be worſhipped.* Gen. 23. 12. *Abraham bowed down himſelf before the people of the Land, ergo, &c.* Gen. 28. 18. *Jacob took the Stone that he had put for his Pillow, and ſet it up for a Pillar, ergo, &c.* Gen. 32. 24. *There Wreſtled a man with Jacob, ergo.* Gen. 47. 7. *Jacob bleſſed Pharaoh, ergo.* Exod. 37. 6, 7. *Befaleel made the Mercy Seat of pure Gold, and Two Cherubims of Gold, ergo.* Num. 21. 9. *Moses made a Serpent of Braſs, and put it upon a Pole, ergo.* Joſh. 4. 9. *Joſhua ſet up twelve Stones in the miſt of Jordan, ergo.* Pſal. 27. 8. *Thy Face*

Face, Lord, will I seek, ergo. Psal. 26. 8. Lord I have loved the Habitation of thy House, ergo. Psal. 48. 8. As we have heard, so have we seen, ergo. Psal. 73. 20. Lord, when thou awakest, thou shalt despise their Image, ergo. Psal. 99. 5. Exalt ye the Lord our God, and Worship at his footstool, ergo. Canticles 2. 14. O my Love, let me see thy countenance, ergo. Heb. 11. 21. Jacob Worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff, ergo. Math. 5. 15. Men do not Light a Candle, and put it under a bushel, ergo, Images are to be Worshipped with Lights and Candles.

Sir, it may be you are ready to *laugh*, and may mistrust that I play the *Wag*. But seriously these are some of those goodly *Nicene Fathers Arguments*, and some of the *stoutest* too : For I have omitted divers *more* absurd ones, least you should think I *abused* that Grave and Venerable Synod : and now you may judge, whether these were not *rare Greek Wits*. Yet we might forgive their want of *Brains*, if they had been men of *Integrity*. But they were *Dishonest* too ; witness one memorable passage ; for when the Popes Legates moved that all Writings which were extant against Images should, with an *Anathema*, be
either

Act. 5. in fine

either defaced, or committed to the flames, they very readily yielded to the motion, and accordingly provided a Canon; *that all*
Can. 9. such books should be brought into the Bishops House of Constantinople, under pain of deposition: If a Clergy man should conceal any, and of Excommunication, if any Monk or Laick did not obey. A very shrewd sign, that there were several Books of that Nature, which could not be fairly answer'd; and 'twas a Base artifice of robbing posterity of a full, clear, and particular account, which otherwise the World might have had, of the Rise and Progress of Image-worship, and of the strong Opposition it met with in the Churches of Christ, and even in *that* Age when the purity of Religion was corrupted.

2 That the practices that were establish'd by this Second *Nicene* Council were nothing near so *Gross* and *Foul*, as those which have been *since* used and defended in the Roman Church. For whereas God the Father is wont to be Pictur'd in the shape of an Old man, and the Holy Trinity is represented by *One Head with Three Faces*, the men at *Nice* were utterly against all things of *this* Nature, and were only for the Images of the

(44)
the Man Christ Jesus, and of the Holy Virgin, and of Angels and Saints. And besides, the Adoration order'd by that Council to be given to those Images, was a far lower expression of respect and Honour, than that which is given to them in the Papacy; and which hath been very stoutly argued for by *Bellarmino*, and others the most learned men of that Communion.

3. Tho' that Council did not run out into half those extravagances, which in after Ages were such an horrible reproach and scandal to Christianity, yet the Acts of it so frightened other Countries, especially in the VVest, that for a long time they would not receive them, but abhor'd that Assembly at *Nice*, and condemned it as a *Pseudo Synod*. This is confest by the Learned *Petrus de Marca*; and has been lately proved by *Launojus* (in his discourse to *Carolus Prestius*) from several unquestionable Authorities.

*Pet. de Marca
de Concord. l.
2. c. 17.*

But the thing will easily appear by the process of this History, which I shall now go on to. *Constantine* the Emperour, *Irene's* Son, being made sensible of the Evil which his Mother had done, and in which she had made him an *Accomplice* in the time of his

G

minority,

Placina in vita
Hadriani. 1.

Hoveden. An.
nal. par. prior.
p. 405.

minority, abrogated the Acts of the *Nicene* Council; and moreover *Deposed* Her. But however the Pope had been gratified, at whose instance that Council had been called to erect Images, as the V Vriter of *Adrians* Life in *Binius* doth confess. *Irene* thinking to gratifie *Charles* the Great too (tho' it proved a *wrong* course) sent him a Copy of the *Nicene* Acts, as she had to the Pope also by his two Legates: And *Roger de Hoveden* tells us what followed presently. In the year 792 (saith he) *Charles King of the French*, sent into Brittain a *Synodal Book*, which had been directed to him from Constantinople, in which Book (Oh grievous!) were found many things inconvenient and contrary to the true Faith, chiefly, that by the suffrage of about 300 oriental Bishops it was decreed that Images should be Worshipped; a thing which the Church of God doth utterly Curse, or abhor. By what followeth in *Hoveden*, it seems, that upon receipt of this Book there was a Convention of the Bishops, and other Principal men here in England about it, and that one *Albinus* (others call him *Alcuinus*) was order'd to write an Answer to it, for (saith *Hoveden*) *Albinus* wrote an Epistle against it, wonderfully strengthened with

with the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and this Epistle together with that other Book, he carried in the Names of the Bishops, and other great men to the King of France. He, finding the sense of the Church of England (which 'tis plain by this Story was utterly against Images then) and fearing lest any Christians in his Territories should return to an old sort of Pagan Idolatry, summon'd a great Council of about 300. Bishops out of (all his Dominions in Italy, Germany, and France, to meet at Frankford; which they did in the year 794. Charles the Great himself being there among them. Thither Pope Adrian sent his Legates, Theophylact and Stephanus, and with them another Copy of the Nicene Acts, to be confirm'd (as he hoped) by that Council. But upon a close and through debate of the whole matter, they utterly condemn'd the Decrees of the Nicene Council, and the Council it self as a Pseudo Synod, and like wise and good men went a middle way; allowing the setting up of Images, as a thing not evil in it self; but strictly forbidding all Worship and Adoration of Images, as a thing contrary to the Scriptures. The Disputations of this Council were digested into four

Joan. Tiff.
Præfat. de Ca-
rol. Capitulare.

Vide Testim.
Veterum præ-
fix. Carol. Ca-
pitul.

non habet
s. 201. No
millis 1. 100
4-2 2 1000

Books, and go under the Name of *Charles the Great, Caroli magni capitulare*, because they were put together by his Authority and assistance, and were published by *Tilius* 1549.

This put some stop for a time to that corrupt custome, as we are told by the great and famous *Hincmarus* Arch-Bishop of *Rhemes*; who flourisht about 50 years after this. By the Authority of the Council at Frankford, (saith he) the custome of Worshipping Images was somewhat repress; but *Adrian* and other Popes persisted still in their own opinion, and after the Death of *Charles the Great*, the more vehemently promoted the Worship of their Babies.

Hincmarus
Remens. adv.
Hincmarum
Laudum. c. 20.

Suarum papa-
rum cultum
vehementius
promoverunt.

Yet this did not stifle the endeavours of the Orthodox Princes and Church-men. For in the East, *Leo Armenus* call'd a Council at *Constantinople* anno 814. wherein all Image-Worship was exploded, and the Second *Nicene* Council, which had set it up, was *Anathematiz'd*. Indeed the particular Acts of this Council do not appear: I suppose they were suppress'd, as many more things of this nature have been, but yet it is confess'd, that such a Synod there was, and that it was against the Worshipping of Images. Whereupon the Emperour

Vide Eiusd. Con-
cil. Tom. 3.
par. 1. Section
postea, pag. 204.

Emperour issued out his Edict, bearing date the same year, the Copy whereof you will find in the Book entitled, *Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum*, pag. 604.

In the *West Ludovicus Pius* (Son and Successor to that learned Prince *Charles the Great*) engaged in the Controversie, calling a Council of Divines as his Religious Father had done; and it was upon this occasion. *Michael Balbus* and his Son *Theophilus* now Emperours at *Constantinople* after *Leo Armenus*, sent to *Ludovicus* to confirm the amity of the Empire with him, and to acquaint him with the posture of affairs at *Constantinople*, as to this business of Images: And thus stood the case, *Michael* had in the year 821. granted a *Tolleration* to such as were for Image-Worship, and such as were against it, hoping by this *Indulgence* to quiet both parties, and to settle Peace in the Empire. But this had a quite contrary effect; for the Faction grew *Insolent* and *Bold*, so that *Michael* was forced to call a Synod too, as his Predecessors had done. To this Synod the Faction refused to come; but ran away to the Pope to exasperate him against the Emperour. The Synod having decreed a-
gainst

*Vide Cedren.
Hist. Zonar.
Annal. 3. Im-
perial decreta.
pag. 607. 608.*

*Binii Concil.
Tom. 3. par. 1.
Sessio. post.
pag. 259.*

Wide Epistolam
Michaelis &
Theophili in
Imper. Decretis.

gainst Image-Worship, *Michael* sent a Letter to *Ludovicus Pius*, wherein he acquainted him, what horrible *Abuses* had been committed by some at *Constantinople*, that they *Sang* before Images, and *Ador'd* them, and *begg'd* Help and assistance of them, &c. Moreover, that the *Patrons* of Image-Worship would not stand to the *Synodical Decrees*, nor be *Corrected* by the *Truth*, but *fled away*, and went to *Old Rome* with *Calumnies* and *Lies*. Then he saith, he had written a Letter to the *Pope* about it, and in the end he desired *Ludovicus* that he would give the *Messengers* safe conduct to *Rome*, and take care that there might be a perfect agreement between them, especially as to the main thing, which concern'd the *Salvation* of the *Soul*.

Wide & Aimen
Monach. in Im-
per. Decret.
pag. 625.

The *Greek Ambassadors* having deliver'd this Letter to *Ludovicus*, went to *Rome*, but found the *Pope*, who should have lent his hand to *Cure* this *Distemper*, willing rather to *cherish* and *foment* it. However, for fear of *Ludovicus* his displeasure, he did unwillingly yield to his desires of calling a *Council* of his *Divines* at home to consider of the *matter*, and accordingly *Ludovicus*, who imbrued his *Fathers* zeal for the wellfare

fare and Honour of Christianity, call'd a Synod at *Paris*, anno 825. This is acknowledged, and that this Synod condemn'd the Second *Nicene* Council is acknowledg'd too, God be thanked, the Acts of this Synod are extant, having been publisht from a very ancient and genuine Copy in the Library of *Petrus Pithoeus*. And because the Book is not in every ones hand, I shall give you a short and faithful relation of the proceedings, which will abundantly shew the Novelty of Image-Worship, and the judgement of the *Gallican* Church at that time against it.

Vide Epist. Synodi Parisiensis Ludovico.

Spondan. ad annum. 825.

To unravel the whole matter, first they read Pope *Adrians* Letter to *Irene* for the Worshipping of Images, and blam'd him for requiring such a piece of Superstition, because though it be lawful to erect Images, yet 'tis impious to Adore them. Then they consider'd the Acts of the *Nicene* Council, and condemn'd that Council for confirming that Superstitious Error. Then they examined *Adrians* Reasons on behalf of the *Nicene* Council, and concluded them to be false, absurd, and Arguments of his great Ignorance. Then they debated the Emperour *Michaels* Letter

Vide Synodi Paris. Epist. Ludovico.

Letter to their King *Ludovicus*, and found that Image-Worship, so much contended for, by some at *Constantinople*, proceeded partly from Ignorance of the Truth, and partly from a most evil custome, whereby the Pest of that Superstition increased in those parts. Then they reprehended the Popes *Obstinacy*, who though he was bound to correct that Error, was so far from *Resisting*, that he defended it contrary to the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Holy Fathers. Next, they collected several Sentences out of the Ancients against such as were for the utter Destruction of Images. Then they noted and urged a great abundance of passages more against such as were in the other extream, for the Worshipping of Images. Then they proceeded to confute all their Arguments from Scripture, with the rest of their pittiful Shifts and Evasions. And after as full a consideration of the whole business, as their time would permit, they came to this moderate Resolution, that as on the one hand, the Images of Saints are not be broken, abolisht, and utterly despised; so on the other Hand, they are not to be worshipt or Adored, but all such Superstition set aside, to be used only for Memory and love sake.

The

Vid. Epist. praedict. ad suum.

The Synod being ended, the Acts of it were sent in a Book to their King *Ludovicus*: Whereupon several Letters were sent away to the Pope, with a Copy of the Synodical acts. *Ludovicus* himself wrote Letters to him; wherein, like a zealous and truly Christian Prince, he put him in mind of the great *Necessity* there was of *healing* those sad *breaches* which had hapned about Images, and earnestly moved him, that *he would do his utmost for the composing of the differences*; telling him plainly, that *he did not deserve to be called Universal (Bishop) that did not strive with all the strength he had, for the Universal State of the Church*. Now any man may see, *Ludovicus* his meaning was, that the Pope would be perswaded to act according to the determination of the *Parisian Synod*, where-with *Ludovicus* was so well pleased. For it was for this *End*; that he sent the Pope a Copy of their acts: And besides, among those *private instructions* he gave his messengers, (*Jeremy and Jonas*) who carried the Letters and the Book to the Pope, this was one, that *they should above all things be very careful to endeavour, to bring the Pope to that moderation which was to be observed about I-*

H

images

*Universalis
merito non di-
citur, si pro
Universali Ec-
clesia statu vi-
ribus, quibus
valer, non ag-
nizatur. Ep.
Ludov. ad
Rom. Pont.*

Summopere caveatis--ut ad Mensuram, qua in habendis Imaginibus tenenda est, eum deducer evaleatis. Ep. ad Hierem. & Jonam.

Vide, Ep. Pontif. Rom. ad Michael & Theophil.

(100)
images: Viz. that they who would have Images, might have them, provided they did not Worship them, according to the sense of the Synod.

Besides these Letters from *Ludovicus* himself, another was sent to the Pope, not only from all the *Bishops*, but from the whole State of the French Empire, in the Name of the whole Church throughout France, and all other Provinces that were in Subjection to *Ludovicus*. And that this Letter also was to the very same purpose, any man may easily discern, by the account which the Pope himself afterwards gave of it in his Epistle to *Michael* and *Theophilus*, the Greek Emperours. The sense of the Gallican Church was, that the dissensions at Constantinople were about a matter, without which the Church might be saved by Faith, Hope, and Charity--That it could be no prejudice to Faith, Hope, and Charity, though there were not an Image in the whole World--That without doubt it might be proved, that it had been better there had never been such a thing as an Image, seeing the Universal Church might be safe without it--That all along it had been the custome of their Church to leave men to their Liberty whether they

they would have Images or no--That tho' in some places, especially in the Churches and Palaces of Princes, there were Images, yet they were not for Worship, but for memory and Ornament sake only--That all people ought to be instructed and taught, as not with detestation to despise Images, or with contumelies to destroy them; so not to bestow upon them any unlawful worship by expressions of affection, or by any sort of Prayers; or by Kissings and Salutations. This is the sum of the Gallican Churches sense then (agreeable to what had been determined at the Council of Frankford before) in order to the Union and Peace of Christendome, which they admonish the Pope to be very careful of.

I suppose you may expect to know, what *Success* all those applications to the Pope had? Why, truly, as far as we can find by the Popes Letter to the Greek Emperours, he was *satisfied* with the *modesty* and *fairness* of the proposals, and advised the Emperours to provide for the *peace* of the Churches under their Government, by going in this *middle way*. For as he *reprehended* Leo Isaurus for *destroying* and *breaking* all Images, so he most *severely* *condemned* Irene for *issuing*

out that *Edict*, that *whosoever would not Worship Images, should be sent into Banishment.*

Indeed the Writers of the Roman Church do not care to be told of this Letter, but would fain make us believe 'tis a *fictitious* thing, forged by some Heretick. But I must confess, the arguments I have yet seen on their side are by no means satisfactory to me. The *strongest* of them seems to be this, that it is not probable, this Pope *Eugenius*, (for that was his Name) would *contradict* the decrees of his Predecessor *Adrian*, who had stirred up *Irene* to *establish* Image-worship. This (say they) he could not do, without being guilty of the extremest folly and madness; and therefore the thing is not credible: But these men know very well, that this is no *New* thing, for *one* Pope to *Rescind* the acts of *another*; it hath been *often* done with a great deal of *bitterness* and *fury*; and we are ready to give them divers instances of it, if they will but be pleas'd to endure the Story.

At present it shall suffice to note, that upon this very Subject one Pope did most manifestly *contradict* his Predecessor. For *Gregory* the First was utterly *against* Image-Worship;

ship; and *Gregory the Second* was vehemently for it. Read but the *Epistles* of those two *Popes*, and you will find them so contradictory the one to the other, that you will wonder, that any men who have read Books, should ever think of the *Popes Infallibility*, when they can reconcile those *Epistles* with themselves, and then reconcile Both with the *Popes Infallibility*, I will believe that the *East* and *West Indies* are by a strange Earthquake removed, and both of them met at *Rome*: or (which is every whit as good) I will believe the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

It is not, I conceive, necessary for me now, to prosecute this History further, because my present business is not to shew by what steps the custome of Worshipping Images gained ground in *Latter Ages*, but to satisfy you, that the first *Beginnings* and growth of it in *former Ages* was an *Innovation*. Nor can I imagine it possible for any thing to be clearer than this is from what I have hitherto noted, first concerning that Old long Controversie between *Christians* and *Pagans*, which the *Primitive Church* maintain'd upon such Grounds, and with such

such Arguments as *We* do *Ours*, against all Image-Worship whatsoever: Secondly, concerning that after-Controversie between Christians themselves, when some Innovators introduced that custome into the Church, but were all along for above 200 years together strenuously opposed by the Catholick Church (excepting a small party in *Italy*, after the time of *Gregory* the First, (who oppos'd it as well as others) and excepting a few Superstitious and Ignorant Greeks:) witness, not only several particular Orthodox *Fathers*, but several Orthodox *Synods*, which made it their set business to enquire into the Innovation, and condemn'd it; one at *Constantinople*, anno 728. another there too, anno 754. a third in *England*, anno 792. a fourth at *Frankford* anno, 794. a fifth at *Constantinople* again anno 814. a sixth there too, about 824. and a seventh at *Paris* anno 825. to which time if you compute the years from *Gregory* the Great (who with *Serenus* Bishop of *Marseilles*, gave a blow to the Innovation while it was yet young) you will find them to be above 200.

3. Let us now in the last place consider, what the Author of the *Nubes Testium* tells
us

us concerning this matter. And to begin with his *History of the Iconoclasts*, p. 151. *The Jews* (saith he) *Marcionites, Manichees, and Theopaschits, had always shew'd themselves profest Enemies of Holy Images.* Be it so, will it follow hence that the Catholick Christians were not Enemies too? He might as well have said, that because the Turks hate Image-Worship, therefore the Church of *England*, and other Reformed Churches do not. This is a silly artifice, to endeavour to justify an Evil practice by suggesting, that such and such a sort of people were *against* it. Just thus *Celsus* argued in defence of their Image-Worship, that *Christians and Scythians, and the Nomades, and Persians, and other Nations would not endure it.* Very good! the more the Nations were that condemn'd the Practice, the better and stronger was their *Cause*, and the more *singular* were they who stood for it. *Origen* despised this sort of reasoning, and shew'd the different grounds other people went upon, from those which Christians had against Image-Worship, and the like Apology we Protestants are ready to make for our selves, when this worthy Author shall think it worth his while to provoke us to it.

But

Vult ergo videri
(Adamantas)
favere se Si-
mulachris. Quod
propterea faci-
unt, ut miseri-
ma & vesana
sua Secta etiam
Paganorum con-
suetudinem benevolen-
tiam. S. Aug.
contra Adaman-
tum Maniche-
um.

De Heres. l. 1.

Hist. Eccles.
lib. 2. c. 13.

Iren. advers.
Heres. l. 1. c. 24.

But is not this Learned Gentleman some-
what mistaken? For St. *Austin* tells us of
some of the *Manichees*, that they were *friends*
to *Images*; and the reason he gives of it, is
this, *that thereby that wretched and made Sect*
might curry favour with the Pagans. This I
will boldly say (and our Author cannot but
know it) that the *First Images* we read of
in any *Authentick Church Writer*, were used
by the most monstrous *Hereticks*; and that
partly for the reason in St. *Austin*, that they
might save their *stake* by *complying* with the
Heathens. For they were the politick *Trim-*
mers of those times, that would deny Christ
himself, and do any thing in the World,
and among other things would Worship I-
mages too, for fear of *Persecution.* St.
Austin tells us (and 'tis acknowledg'd) that
Simon Magus gave his own Picture, and the
Picture of his Mistress Helena, to his Disci-
ples, that they might Worship them. *Eusebius*
tells us that *Simon Magus* his *Disciples* obser-
ved his commands, prostrating themselves be-
fore His, and his *Madonna's Pictures*, and
not fearing to Worship them with *Incense*
and *Sacrifices, and oblations.* *Irenaeus* speak-
ing of that long and numerous Sect, the
Gnosticks,

Gnosticks, saith, that they had *Images*, some painted, and some made of other matter, which, they said, were the *Images* of *Christ*, according to a *Picture* which *Pilate*, forsooth, had made of him; and that the *Gnosticks* did set *Crowns* upon those *Images*, placing them among the *Pictures* of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and other *Philosophers*, and paying the like respect to them, which the *Pagans* did use to do on such occasions. But not to trouble you with many quotations, the thing is confest by that hot pated Commentator on that place in *Irenæus*, he tells the same stories out of *Austin*, *Theodore*, and *Epiphanius*, as you may see by consulting him at your leisure. Now after all this, I desire the Author of the *Nubes Testium* to shew, who, but these *Hereticks*, brought in the use and worship of *Images* first, in the beginning of Christianity; and if he can find any other, to tell us, *who* they were, what Age they lived in, and what good *Authorities* he trusts to: But I wish him before hand not to lay any stress upon that story of the Image at *Cæsaria Philippi*, for reasons which possibly he may understand.

Next our Author tells us an Old thredbare story of a *Jew*, and a *Captain* of the

Jews, by name *Sarantapechys*, that in the year 723 perswaded *Jezidus the Caleph* of the *Arabians* to throw down all the Images of Christ, and his Saints in all the Churches of Christians within his Dominions. Now 'tis not a farthing matter, whether this story be true, or false; but for some mirth sake, let us look into it a little. You must understand, that this story was told first of all at the Worshipful Second Council of *Nice*, by one *Joannes*, a goodly Presbyter, whom at present for your better memory-sake we will call, *Presbyter John*. This Presbyter *John*, you must know, spoke Greek, and relating this admirable tale of that Jew, he call'd him, not *Sarantapechys* (as our Author and others usually call him) but *Tessaracontapechys*, which in Greek signifies, one that is forty Cubits high. This long Name, is just about so many Letters and Syllables as *Transsubstantiation*, and 'tis a rare Name for a Jew, whoever was his Godfather: But 'twas pity they did not make this masty fellow one of the Sons of *Anak*, another *Goliath* of the race of the Philistins. One of the Giants at *Guild-ball* is an *Afs* to him: But however he was the fitter to pull down Images. For so Presbyter

byter John related the matter (and that out of a written thing too, which he had wisely contrived, for fear of Tripping in his Narrative) that this man with a long Name, good-man Tessaracontapachys was a Great man with King Jezid, a Counsellor; and that he prevailed with him to destroy Images, promising him, that upon so doing he should have a long Reign of thirty years. It seems he was a Fortineller too, and 'tis a wonder they did not make him a Gypsie; but perhaps Presbyter John consider'd, that the Egyptians did use to be fond of Images.

Concl. Nic. 2.
Añis. 5.

What grounds the Presbyter had for this Story, no body knows, and yet some fabulous Greek Writers tell the story after him, and all upon his bare credit. But 'tis so Absurd and Inconsistent with it self, that 'tis a sign of a most miserable cause, and no small affront to our understandings, that our Author offers such a silly Fable to our belief. 'Twas a Jew of Tiberias, saith Presbyter John: 'Twas a Jew of Laodicea, saith Theophanes. 'Twas One Jew, saith he: They were several Jews, say others. This Jew was kill'd by Jezids Successor, saith the Presbyter. No, saith Zonarus, he fled away to Isauria, and

Vide Synod. Napolian. in Decret. Imperial.

spake to *Leo* to the same purpose, promising him the Empire upon the same condition. This was when *Leo* was a Youth, and a Private man, saith *Cedrenus*: No, saith, *Theophanes*, it was in such a year of *Leo's* Empire. It was in the Seventh year of his Reign, saith *Cedrenus*, that the Jews charged him with his promise of breaking Images: No, saith *Zonaras*, it was in the Ninth year. It was in the Ninth year that *Leo* began the work, saith *Cedrenus*, no, saith *Zonaras*, it was in the Tenth year: No, no, saith Pope Gregory, it was not then neither; for *Leo* walked aright, saith he, for Ten years, and made no mention of Images.

Greg Ep. ad
Leon. ut supra.

Much good may this fine story do those that can believe any Legends. But the truth is, though they would throw it upon the Jews, yet *Leo* the Emperour was put upon it by Christian Bishops. The Bishop of *Nacolia* was charged with it by all: Nor is it likely that he would act solely upon his own judgement; no, others concurr'd with him (as Presbyter *John* confest,) their examples was followed by the Arabian Christians, and at last *Constantine* of *Nacolia* moved the Emperour *Leo* to do the same thing in Greece.

This

This I take to be the Truth of the matter, upon the strictest enquiry I have made, tho' should we allow the *Substance* of the story, that the Jews were the occasion of removing Images, I do not see what *blemish* this can be to the *thing*; because it was *Honourable* both for the Jews to insist upon the *Law* of God, and for the *Bishops* also to take away a Scandal that was so prejudicial to *Christianity*: The only pitty was, if the Jews were *before hand* with the Christians in that point.

Our Author goes on to tell us, that *there were several Synods held, especially at Rome, on behalf of Images.* Now this is *trifling*, for he pleads that as a *defence*, which we we say was a *Crime*. *Viz.* that some *Heady Popes* and their *Factions* were *singular* and *obstinate* in upholding an *Innovation*. And yet I must tell our Author, that if he impartially considers the *State* of the *Controversie* in those times, he will find these three things. 1. That even the *Roman Bishops* and *Synods* were generally for Images for *Historical* purposes, and for the sake of those *Instructions*, which they conceiv'd people might receive by them. 2. That their *De-*

crees

crees were against the using of Images *contumeliously*, as the Iconoclasts did, burning, breaking, and dashing of them in pieces; which is nothing to the point which is now in Controversie between Us and the Papists. 3. that the *Cultus* or *Worship* which they spake of, and stood for, was declared to be such an *Honourary respect* to Images, as the piety of Christians thought fit to shew to the Holy Bible, which does not come up to the point neither. We desire him to instance in any one Synod in those times, whether at *Rome* or elsewhere, that stood for that abominable sort of Image Worship which was brought into the Church of *Rome* in after Ages: The very Second Council of *Nice* will utterly fail him as to *that*; and till he can do this, 'tis to no purpose for him to plead, no not *late* Antiquity, in defence of those practices.

But what he saith of the Council at *Frankford*, that the Fathers *mistook* the meaning of the *Nicene* Synod, is such a gross and palpable falsehood, as none but a man of a very strong forehead would have published to the World at this time of day; with the same Confidence he might have said, as *Laurentius*

Sarius

Surius and others formerly did, that at the Council of Frankford nothing was done against the Nicene Synod; but on the contrary, that the Acts of that Synod were confirm'd there: A pretence which many Learned Romanists of late have been utterly asham'd of; nay our Author himself seems to be so too: And therefore to save the matter he would make you believe, that the *Frankford* Council understood not the sense of the *Nicene*, but condemn'd it upon a mistake. The short account of the matter is this. At the *Nicene* Assembly, *Constantine* of *Cyprus* profess, that he received and embraced with Honour, the Holy and venerable Images; and gave the Worship of Latria (that is Divine Worship) to the Trinity only. Thus far our Author is in the right. But it seems, in a Latin Translation of that Council, which was sent to *Frankford*, the Interpreter wronged *Constantine*, rendring his words thus, I receive and embrace Holy Images according to that Worship (or with that Adoration) which I give to the Trinity. 'Tis granted too, that this was a mistake in the Translator. But then to infer (as our Author doth) that all the Fathers at *Frankford* were mistaken upon

Bin. Conc. Tom.
3. part. 1. Se-
ctio. poster. pag.
141. & 159.

upon the *whole*, thinking that *Constantine's* sense, was the sense of the whole Synod; and so to conclude (as he doth too) that they condemned not the *plain* and *open* definition of the *Council of Nice*, this I say is great confidence: For those Fathers observed, that *Constantine* spake *higher* than the rest, and *differently* from the rest; therefore they could not but *know* what the *meaning* of the *rest* was. And though they particularly condemn'd the Sentence fixt upon *Constantine*, yet they condemn'd the *Decrees* of the *whole* Council, whose *Opinions* and *Arguments* they had *consider'd* and *examined* severally, and *one* by *one*, consulting them all along, although they spake in a *lower* strain, and of a *lower* sort of *Worship* than *Constantine* was thought to have done. For they lookt upon *all Religious Worship* of *Images* to be unlawful and an *Innovation*, although men did not call it *Latria*.

I confess this shift of our Author is not purely his own; for *Petrus de Marca*, and others have used it before him. But 'tis strange he should *persist* in such a foul mistake, and think to impose a fancy upon us, which hath been so evidently confuted
by

Carol. Magnus.
Imp. lib. 3. cap.
17.

Con. Frankf.
Can. 2.

de concord. lib.
2. c. 17.

by a very Learned Doctor of our own, whose Books most men have in their hands, I mean Doctour *Stillingsfleet*, who in his Discourse of the Idolatry practiced in the Church of *Rome*, shews, that the Council of *Frankford* condemn'd that of *Nice*, not out of *misunderstanding* their Doctrine, as 'some (saith he) vainly imagine, *because* as *Vasquez* well proves a Copy of the *Nicene* Council was sent to them by Pope *Adrian*; 'because the Acts of that Council were very 'well known to the Author of the Book 'written upon this Subject, under the name 'of *Charles the Great*; and *because* the Popes '*Legatès, Theophylactus* and *Stephanus* were '*present*, and might easily rectifie any mistake, 'if they were guilty of it; and none of 'the Historians of that time do take notice 'of any such Error among them. And a 'little after he saith, whosoever will read 'the *Caroline* Books, or the Synod of *Paris*, 'or *Agobardus* and others about that time, 'will find that they condemned *all Religious* 'Worship of Images, as Adoration, and 'contrary to that Honour which is due to 'God alone, and to the Commands which 'he hath given in Scripture, And there-
K fore

'fore he extreemly wonders, how any men
 'of common *sense*, and much more of *Lear-*
 '*ning and judgment*, that had read the Books
 'of *Charles the Great* against the *Nicene Sy-*
 'nod, could imagine it altogether proceed-
 'ed upon a *mistake* of the meaning of it,
 'when it so *distinctly* relates, and *punctually*
 'answers the *several* places of *Scriptures*
 'and *Fathers* produced by it for the Wor-
 'ship of *Images*: Of which the *Learned*
Doctor gives there a very *orderly, plain,*
 and *faithful* account; to which I refer you,
 desiring our *Author* to consider it well:
 And then to give us some *further* and *bet-*
ter reasons of his *bold* assertion, that 'tis e-
 vident, the *Second Council of Nice* did not
 make any *Innovation* in matter of Faith, in
 point of giving *respect* to *Holy Images*.
 You may observe how he *minceth* the mat-
 ter, endeavouring, like some others (but to
 no purpose) to put a *New Face* upon *Popery*.
 He intimates that *Kissing* of *Images*,
bowing to them, *kneeling* and *Praying* before
 them, nay *Invocating* of them, all this is no-
 thing forsooth but *respect*. This is so far
 from being evident that 'tis no *Innovati-*
on, that I think you cannot but be satisfied,
 that

that the quite *contrary* hath been demonstrated particularly and fully. But these men at sometimes will have many things to be evident without any the least *Reason* when at other times they will not allow a thing to be evident, though it be never so plain and obvious to all mens *Senses*.

Let us now examine what he tells us further, to prove, that *the making of Holy Images, the esteeming them a help to Christian Piety, and Worthy of Respect, was found among Christians long before the Second Nicene Council, even in the Primitive times.*

Thus he is pleas'd to word it: But he should have proved, that the *setting up of Images in Churches, and the Worshipping of them there, as they are now Worshipt in the Church of Rome, was practiced in the Primitive times, and that by the Churches Authority too; for nothing but this can clear things we dispute against from being an Innovation.* It has been already shewn, that there were *some Images in Ancient times, and that they were formed and used partly by Hereticks, and partly by profelyted Gentiles, who were still fond of their Old customs; but he must go further a great deal, and shew, that people were allowed in the*

Primitive times to *use* and *venerate* Images *publickly* in Christian Oratories, as well as *privately* in their own Houses; or else all that he can say is utterly *impertinent*, and signifies no more than this, that the man has lookt into some Church-Writings, but can find nothing at all to his *purpose*.

As for those Brazen Images our Author speaks of *first*, at *Cæsaria Philippi*, the one of a Woman upon her knees, the other over against it of a man holding out his hand to her (as *Eusebius* relates) I said before, that he should not lay any stress upon them; because he is *beholding* to us if we grant *this* to have been the Image of Christ, and *that* the Image of the Woman who had been healed of her issue of Blood. For all that *Eusebius* saith, is, that the people of that place *reported* it was so; they had gotten such a story by the *End*, as some have here, that the Stone on which Jacob lay'd his head, is at Westminster-Abby. *Eusebius* indeed saw two such Images at *Cæsaria*; but what they meant he could not tell; *that* he had upon report and *Hear say*. Nor is it very likely, that a Woman who had spent all that she had among *Physitians*, should be at the charge of two Statues of *Brass*; or that they

they should *continue* there all the times of *Persecution*, if they *had* been such. And therefore a Learned Writer I pointed to before, very probably conjectures, that the one was the Image of the City *Cæsaria* a supplicating to the Emperour, and the other was the representation of the Emperour holding out his hand to her. You may believe it was so, if you consider his Reasons; and then our Author will have no more reason to affirm, they were the Images of *Christ* and that *Woman*, then he has to say, that the Form of a *Woman* on some of our *Medals* representing *Britannia*, or a *Womans Head* representing the *University* with this Motto, *Alma Mater*, is the Picture of some *Saint*.

Defence of the
charge of Ido-
latry, part. 2:
pag. 523.

Epiphanius the Deacon made a blind use of this story at the *Nicene Council*; but the Fathers at *Frankford* suspected the credit of it. But yet admitting it; no man can argue hence for the *Worship* of Images; as those Fathers rightly observed, whose judgment I shall give you as a full answer to this thing: If (said they) that weak Ignorant Woman erected our Saviours Image; will any man that hath receiv'd the gift of Faith, and believes *Christ* to be every where, be so senseless, as to
set.

Caroli Magn.
Imper. lib. 4.
cap. 15.

set up his Image and Worship it? If she did that before the World was freed from Idolatry, and in compliance with an Heathen custome; will any man do the like, who is of a sound mind, and believes the Lord to be not in things made with hands, but in Heaven, or rather every where? Or if she did after a Superstitious manner express a zeal, but not according to Knowledge, will any Catholick, that is strong in the Faith follow her Example, and do the like Actions? More to the same purpose they say concerning the Statue at Casaria: And as to the Medicinal Herb which is pretended to have grown at the feet of it, they say, that if there was any such thing, it was not that men should Worship Plants or Images, but to take mens minds off from the Vanities of Idols, and turn them to the true Faith, because signs are not for such as believe, but for unbelievers.

The most considerable thing our Author seems to have observ'd, is out of *Tertullians* Book, *de pudicitia*, that in his time the Picture of a Shepherd with a Sheep on his shoulder was engraven on the Chalice of Catholicks. But *Tertullian* doth not clearly tell us, whether this Garniture was on their Communion-Chalices, or on their ordinary drinking Cups.

Cups. And though you make the *most* of it; you cannot conclude that this was the *Churches* act no more than you can conclude, that the late putting of *Pictures* into some of our *Common-Prayer Books* was done by the directions of *Authority*: Much less is it possible to infer hence, that Christians in *Tertullians* days did *Worship Images*. For as there is a great deal of *difference* between an *Emblem* and an *Image*; so is there too between *Ornament* and *Adoration*. Though Christians then thought it lawful for them to *have* on their Chalice, for *Ornament-sake*, a *Figure* that *alluded* to one of our Saviours *Parables*, yet no man of sense can argue from it, that they thought it lawful to *Worship* any visible representations, or that they actually *did* so. You may as well say, that *We* our selves are Worshippers of Images, because we have in our Churches the figures of a *Lion* and an *Unicorn* in the *Kings-Arms*, and in *some places* too the representation of *Rayes*, which is commonly call'd the *Glory*, on our *Communion Plate*.

These two impertinent instances, of the *Statue* at *Cæsaria*, and the *figure* of a *Shepherd* on Chalice, I have particularly spoken to, because I observe they are the *only* instances our Author hath mention'd, or I believe can find in any

(72)
any good Authority, for almost the first 400 years; and yet saith he very boldly, *the making of Holy Images, the esteeming them a help to Christian Piety, and worthy of respect, was even in the Primitive times.*

Panstrat. Tom.
2. l. 8. c. 7.
pag. 284.

Gregory Nyssen, who flourisht about anno 380. is the first Author he quotes next concerning Images, or Pictures: And all that he tells us is, that he saw somewhere the Picture of Abraham offering up his Son; and this too was it seems in the streets, (for said he) *I could not pass by it without weeping.* As for his pretended Oration upon St. Theodore, the Authority of it is justly questionable; and the Learned Chamier has given substantial reasons which prove it is not Genuine. However it mentions only an *Historical description of Theodores Martyrdome*, on a wall of the place, where the Martyr was buried: A thing which our Author knows, that Protestants do not find fault with, but is altogether besides the Controversie.

What he proves out of St. Ambrose (Gregory Nyssens contemporary) is that he had somewhere or other seen the Picture of St. Paul. And no more can be gather'd from his allegations out of St. Austin, but that there were in many places the Pictures of Peter and Paul; as there was of Abraham Sacrificing Isaac, and of St. Stephen

phen suffering Martyrdom. Our Author may see daily many such pieces among Us? But what is all this to the purpose? Especially if it be consider'd, what St. *Austin* saith upon the matter in the very place where he speaks of *Peter and Pauls Pictures*, that they deserved to be *deceiv'd, who lookt for Christ and his Apostles, not in the Holy Books, but on painted Walls.*

What he quotes out of St. *Jerome* amounts only to this, that the Images of the Apostles were wont to be on Cups, called *Santomariae*, out of which such good fellows as *Canthelius* (whom St. *Jerome* there speaks of) were wont to *ripple*. And what is this to the purpose? Or what Honour was this to the Apostles? For though the Translator of the *Nubes Testam* into English is pleas'd to say, that He (meaning plainly St. *Jerome*) proves there, that this was done out of veneration and Love to the Apostles: Yet St. *Jerome* saith not one word about it: He takes this occasion to deride *Canthelius*, and that is all, as you may easily see by turning to St. *Jeromes* Comment on the 4th. of *Jonah*. Indeed the Writer of the *Latin Column* in the *Nubes Testium* saith, that this Custom (of picturing the Apostles on Cups) having sprung from the veneration and Love men had for the Apostles, shews that Christians valued their Images. This was His

Sic omnino errare meruerant, qui Christum & Apostolos ejus non in Sanctis codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quaesierunt S. Aug. de consens. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

sense, but not *St. Jerome's*; and hence I perceive that the Author of the *Nubes Testium* is one, and the Translator another, some body that understood not either *St. Jerome*, or his own Author.

I grant our Author that *St. Chrysostome* in his Panegyrick upon *Meletius* (who had been so well beloved at *Antioch*) took notice, that many people there had the Picture of him, on their Rings, Cups, Glasses, and walls of their Chambers. But this no more proves the point, that the Old Christians were Worshippers of any Images than it proves that you are so, because you have the Pictures of several Bishops, and other Divines of the Church of *England*, in your House. Lord! that men should trouble and charge the world with such stuff as this! which is so far from proving the Antiquity of Image Worship, that tho' our Author hath been abundantly inquisitive, yet by the help of all the Fathers he hath cited for the first 400. years, he cannot make it appear, no, not as a thing Probable, that Images were in all that time so much as set up in Churches.

The next Authorities he quotes, I shall speak too briefly as they lie together in an heap. For tho' they shew that Pictures at last began to be used in Churches, yet withal they shew the Novelty of the practice, because they shew the time when

when it began, viz. after the first 400 years or thereabouts; so that his cause is condemn'd by the very Writers he appeals to. And yet it is observable out of those Writers, from Asterius, who was about the year 400. to Gregory the Great, who was Bishop of Rome about anno 600. that in all that intermediate time of 200. years, the Pictures of Saints were used for Historical purposes only; it was not yet come to Image-Worship, as I have already proved out of Gregory. And further now I shall not go, because here you fall into the Historical account I have given, of the Rise and Progress of Image-Worship, and the great opposition it met with among Catholick Fathers and Synods, which is a sufficient and full answer to all the remaining Authorities in the *Nubes Testium*, since Gregory's time.

Our Author hath jumbled together a great many Collections about the Cross: But the *Antientest*, nay the *only* Writer he produceth within the first 300. years, is *Tertullian*, who was about the year 190. He tells us indeed that they used the sign of the Cross; but that is all. Only they used it oftner than we do, for some special reasons they had in those times of *Heathenism*. As for material crosses made of Wood or any other Substance, Christians used none in those

*Cruces etiam
nec colimus, nec
optamus. Octav.
in Min. Felice
pag. 33. Edit.
Batav.*

those Ages ; much less did they use *Crucifixes* ; much less did they *Worship* any. For *Octavius* the Christian in *Minutius Felix* (who was about anno 220) positively and expressly tells us, that they neither *Worshipped Crosses*, nor desired to have any.

All that he observes out of *Eusebius*, relates only to the sign of the Cross ; that *Constantine* saw the sign of the Cross in the Skie, and that afterwards he had the sign of the Cross in his Military Banners, as We have in Ours. Nor doth *Socrates* or *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* speak of any thing else but the sign of the Cross ; nor doth *Theodore* say any more, but that *Julian*, signed himself with the sign of the Cross. So that tho' our Author hath ransackt every corner, yet he has not hitherto produced any one word out of these Fathers which proves, that *Crosses* were either *Worshipt*, or so much as used for near the first 400. years. And though it appears, that afterwards *Crosses* were set up in some Churches, as Images were, yet it was not that they should be *Worshipt*, but either for Ornament sake ; or because they did put people in mind of the Passion, and were the occasion of many good thoughts, as is evident out of many Authorities which this man cites. If in process of time *Crosses* were improved into *Crucifixes* and Adoration was given to them

them, it is a thing we complain of, as a wicked and a New practice: And therefore I shall not trouble you with a particular Examination of the Collections our Author hath made out of Writers that lived in those Ages when the Purity of Religion was much corrupted; nor needed he indeed to have made such a diligent search: For if you consider the times those Writers lived in, you must be satisfied, that the evidence which our Author fetcheth out of them makes clearly for Us, because they shew that the thing we dispute against was a plain Innovation. And yet I must tell you, that even in those corrupt times the practice was not half so bad as it hath been in latter Ages. For though people prevaricated so far from the Primitive simplicity, that they kissed Crosses and Images, yet they did not make formal Prayers to them; they did not speak to the Cross as to Christ himself, O Holy Cross, our only hope; nor did they pray to it, to give people increase of Grace, to blot out their sins, and to save the whole Congregation that was met together to praise it; and yet I can tell you, if you require it, where such Prayers are. At present I hope you are fully convinced of the Novelty of all Image-Worship; and the next time you may expect an Historical account of the Controversie about the Sacrament

(170)
 (a Controversie which presently succeeded this
 about Images) whereby I doubt not but you
 will be satisfied too of the Novelty of the Do-
 ctrine of Transubstantiation. In the mean time
 Sir, I am your very faithful Servant

March the 29th. 1687.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIR,

IF any doubt ariseth about the time, when the *Caroline*
 Books were written, and whether they contain the
 Acts of the *Frankford* Synod, I only tell you at present,
 that *Baronius* acknowledgeth, that the *Gallicans* in that Syn-
 od offer'd their writings to *Charles the Great*, and that he
 put the whole Collection of them together into a bundle,
 and sent them to Pope *Adrian*. In his Preface before
 the *Frankford* Synod, saith the same thing. And the time
 is clear from the Preface of the *Parisian* Synod. To the
 same purpose *Hincmarus* speaks, and Cardinal *Bellarmin*
 cites him to confirm this opinion, that the *Caroline* Books
 contain the acts of the *Frankford* Council. Tho' *Mossart*
Deille thought those Books were written three years after
 the *Nicene* Synod, and about four years before that of
Frankford, yet he went upon this ground, because *Charles*
 the Great in his Preface to the first of those Books, said,
Gesta praeceq. est ante triennium & ultra Synodus (So, *Nice-*
na). But the Annotator upon that passage saith, *Falsus ille*
numerus, aut certe corruptus: Quid si legatur, ante Septennium
 and this is enough to assure me, though the matter be
 not great.

Baron. ad ann.
987. cap. 57.

Hincmar. ad vs
Hincmar. c. 20.
Bellarmin. de
Eccles. Triumph.
lib. 2. cap. 14.

F I N I S.

